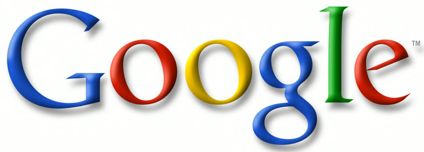


Three new edicts of Aśoka

Georg Bühler, Aśoka (King of Magadha)


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THREE NEW EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

The subjoined three edicts form part of the splendid discoveries which General Cunningham has been making in Northern and Central India during the last years, and will shortly be published in facsimiles in the first volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.* General Cunningham sent me last autumn plate XIV. of his work which contains them. With the help of a photograph also furnished by him I soon succeeded in deciphering the very simple Sahasrâm edict. But the more important Rûpnâth inscription I was unable to make out completely until I received two rubbings, which General Cunningham was good enough to take at my request. On my communicating my final results he very generously gave me permission to publish the text with my translations, and thus enabled me to make these most important inscriptions at once generally accessible.

The great historical value of the new edicts lies herein :—

1*stly*—That they absolutely fix the length of time which elapsed between Buddha's *nirvâṇa* and Aśoka ;

2ndly—That they prove the accuracy of the chronology of the southern Buddhists, *as far as India is concerned;*

3rdly—That their data, together with the information of the Greek historians, prove Buddha's *nirvâṇa* to have taken place between the years 483-82 and 472-71 B.C.; and

4thly—That they indicate the direction in which future efforts to find the exact date of Buddha's *nirvâṇa* ought to be made.

These assertions may appear bold and over-confident, as the inscriptions neither give the name of the king who caused them to be incised, nor show any of the common epithets of Buddha. But nevertheless I feel confident that a careful consideration of the contents of the edicts will cause their correctness to be admitted.

In the Sahasrâm inscription a person who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' states that he was for a long time an *upâsaka,* or worshipper, without exerting himself much for his faith; that afterwards, in consequence of strenuous exertion *during a year and more,* he made the inhabitants of Jambudvîpa, *i.e.* India, abjure the gods in whom they believed formerly. He then quotes a passage in favour of 'exertion' from a 'sermon,' and adds that this sermon was delivered by the *Vivutha,* 'the Departed,' two hundred and fifty-six (years) before, and that its substance has been incised on rocks and stone pillars. In the Rûpnâth edict 'the Beloved of the gods' enlarges

the first two statements by adding that the time of his being an *upâsaka* included *more than thirty-two years and a half;* and that during the period of exertion, lasting *upwards of a year*, he was a member of the *saṁgha*, or of the community of ascetics. This last point is also preserved in the fragment of the Bairâṭ inscription. In the date the Rûpnâth edict shows, besides, an important addition. It says, '256 (years) from the departure of the *Sata*, the Teacher.'

Now it is quite clear that the individual who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' must be a *king*. For, the fact that this epithet occurs before the names of the three kings Piyadàsi-Aśoka, Daśaratha, and Tishya, and that in the Jaugada separate edicts it is used by itself to denote the first ruler, proves that it was an ancient royal title corresponding nearly to the modern 'by the grace of God,' and the Roman Augustus, and was used in the third century before Christ. Secondly, the boast that the writer caused a change of religion throughout India,—the result not of his *greatness*, but of his *zeal*,—and that he caused the matter of the sermon to be incised on rocks and pillars, can only proceed from a great ruler, who held, the whole or a great part of India in subjection. Both the title of the writer, and the alphabet which the edicts show, make it very probable that this king belongs to the third century before Christ, and to the Maurya dynasty.

For it has hitherto not been proved that the title was used by later kings, or that the so-called Aśoka or Lâṭ characters were adopted by any one but the Mauryas, their subjects and contemporaries.

The next point to be determined is the faith to which the writer belonged. The statements that he destroyed the belief in the gods until then considered to be true, and that he was first an *upâsaka* or *sâvaka*, and later a member of the *saṁgha*, show that he must have been either a Bauddha or a Jaina. Both these sects apply the former two terms to their lay brethren, and the latter to the brotherhood of their ascetics. If thus the choice lies between the Jainas and Bauddhas, it cannot be doubtful that the latter are meant. For though the Jainas existed in the third century before Christ, and even occur in Piyadasi-Aśoka's inscriptions under their ancient name Nigaṇṭha, *i.e.* Nirgrantha,* no proof has hitherto been found for their own assertion that they were patronized by one of the Maurya kings ;† on the contrary, there is every reason for adhering to the generally received opinion that both Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha, and the other later Maurya princes, were Buddhists or patrons of Buddhism.

* See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 468., 2nd ed., and Delhi separate edict, l. 5.

† According to their accounts, S a m p r a t i or Sampadi, the son of Kuṇâla and grandson of Aśoka, covered the earth with Jaina *chaityas*. See, *e.g.*, Hemachandra, *Pariśishṭaparva*, Sargas X., XI.

If the 'Beloved of the gods' was a Buddhist, it follows that the *sermon* which he quotes, must be a Buddhist sermon, and the Vivutha of the Sahasrâm edict, or Vyuṭha of the Rûpnâth edict, must be the Buddha himself. The word is not one of the common names of Śâkyamuni-Gotama, but its etymological import is such as to make it a fitting epithet for him. I take *vivutha* for a representative of Sanskrit *vivṛitta*, and of Pali *vivutta* or *vivaṭṭo*. As not one of these or of the formerly published inscriptions Piyadasi shows double letters, but always substitutes single ones,‡ *vivutha* is in reality equivalent to *vivuttha*, and this form differs from the Pali *vivutta* only by the aspiration of the second *t*. This difference, however, does not matter much. For, firstly, there are other instances of irregular aspirates in the language of the edicts. Thus we have *kichhi*, 'something,' for Sanskrit *kiṁchit* and Pali *kiṁchi*.§ Secondly, the letter *r* causes in Pali sometimes the aspiration of a preceding *ta*, *e.g.* in *tattha* = *tatra*,‖ and it is therefore not astonishing that the vowel *ṛi* should have exercised the same influence in a cognate dialect.

But irrespective of these phonetic considera-

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‡ Compare, *e. g.*, 'diyadhiyaṁ' with Pali diyaḍḍho, *tata* with Pali *tattha*, *aṭhe* with Pali *aṭṭho*, etc.

§ Compare also the irregular aspirates in Pali words, like *kuntha*, *phalita*, &c. enumerated by E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 40.

‖ Compare Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 50.

tions the identity of *vivutha* with Sanskrit *vivṛitta* becomes almost certain from the immediately following sentence of the Sahasrâm edict, *duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ*,—literally 'two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty-six have *elapsed*.' The sense of this passage, which is further confirmed by the phrase of the Khandagiri inscription (line 5)¶ *tatho vivuthe vase*, 'then after a year had elapsed,' makes it impossible to take *vivuthâ* for anything else than *vivṛittâni* or rather *vivṛitte* (nom. dual neuter). As these two examples, as well as the etymology, show, *vivutha*, if applied to a person, means originally 'the *Departed*,' or '*he who has passed away*.'* Such a name fits Śâkyamuni very well, as he is considered to be the first who passed away *beyond the circle of births*. The Rûpnâth form *vyuṭha* arose, in my opinion, from the substitution of *u* for *vu*, and the consequent change of the *i* of the prefix *vi* to *y* in accordance with the laws of Sanskrit phonetics. Its lingual *ṭh* has been caused by the lost *ṛi*, which in Pali too, as the form *vaṭṭo* shows, has the same effect.†

From the identification of the *Vivutha*, the preacher of the sermon, with Ś â k y a m u n i, it

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¶ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1090.

* Another *possibility* to explain *vivutha* as a corruption of *vivṛita*, and to take this as a synonym of *nirvṛita*, Pali *nibbuto*, I reject on account of the two cases where it is construed with the word *vaso*, 'a year.'

† Compare also E. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 49, and the form *kaṭe* for *kṛitaḥ*.

follows further that the era in which the inscriptions are dated is that of the *Nirvâṇa*. For, the *ti*, *i.e. iti*, which stands at the end of the sentence *duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ ti*, shows that it is governed by the preceding sentence, *iyaṁ sâvane vivuthena*. Anybody who is acquainted with the use of the Sanskrit *iti* will see the truth of this remark, and will translate *idaṁ śrâvanaṁ vivṛittena* (*kṛitam*) *dve shaṭpanchâśadadhikaśate vivṛitte iti*, by "this sermon was preached by the *Departed* two hundred and fifty-six years ago." The date of the Rûpnâth inscription confirms the above explanation. It says, 256 *satavivâsâ ta* (*i. e. ti*), lit. "256 from the departure of the *Sata, thus*." Here the word *sata* requires special notice. It may stand for Sanskrit *śata*, 100, or, as the inscription does not note double consonants for *saptan*, 'seven,' *śakta*, 'able,' *śapta*, 'cursed;' or, as the inscription frequently leaves out the *anusvâra*‡, for *santa*, *i.e. sat*, pres. part. of *as*, 'good,' *śânta*, 'quiescent,' *śrânta*, 'tired;' or, finally, because the inscriptions do not always aspirate *t* followed by *r* or preceded by *s*,§ for *śasta*, 'praised,' *śastra*, 'a weapon,' *śâstra*, 'institutes of science,' and *śâstṛi*, '*a teacher*.' I select from these numerous possibilities the last explanation, because in Pali *satthu*|| = Sanskrit *śâstṛi* is a common designation of Ś â k y a-

‡ Compare, *e.g.*, *pakate* = *prakrântaḥ*, *atâ* = *ântât*, &c.

§ Compare *tata*, Sah. l. 8 = *tatra* and Pali *atta* = *asta*: Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 53.

|| *Vide* Childers' *Pali Dict.* s. v.

m u n i. The translation of the date is therefore, "256 (*years*) since the departure of the *Teacher* (have elapsed)." The final *ta*, which I believe to represent *ti*, indicates here probably that the inscription is finished.

The result which has now been gained is that the inscriptions proceeded from a Maurya king, or from a contemporary of the Mauryas, who was a Buddhist lay-brother during thirty-two years and a half, and a member of the *saṁgha* for upwards of a year, *i. e.* who was a Buddhist for more than thirty-three and a half, and *that in the thirty-fourth year of his adherence to the Buddhist faith* 256 *years after the Nirvâṇa* had elapsed, or in other words *the* 257*th year after the Nirvâṇa corresponded to the second half of the* 34*th year after his conversion.* Now we know of no Indian princes who made any great efforts for Buddhism in the third century after the *Nirvâṇa* besides A ś o k a and D a ś a r a t h a, his grandson. But the latter cannot be the author of the inscriptions, as he reigned only seven years. There remains, therefore, nobody but A ś o k a, whose reign lasted more than thirty-seven years. This inference is fully confirmed by the *Mahâvaṁśa*, which, provided a certain line of interpretation is adopted, gives the years of Aśoka's reign after his conversion as upwards of 34, and places his death in 257 Buddhæ.

The chronological dates regarding A ś o k a

which occur in the Ceylonese chronicle are as follows :—

1. Interval between Bindusâra's death and Aśoka's *abhisheka*. . . . . . . (*upwards of*) 4 years.¶

2. Interval between Aśoka's *abhisheka* and his *conversion* to Buddhism. . . . . (*upwards of*) 3 years.*

3. Conversion of Tishya, the *Uparâja* . . . . in the 4th year of Aśoka's reign.†

4. Ordination of Mahendra and Sanghamitrâ. . . . . in the 6th year.‡

5. Death of the Sthaviras Tishya and Sumanas. . . . . in the 8th year.

6. The third Buddhist convocation . . . . in the 17th year.§

7. Planting of the Bodhi-tree in Ceylon. . . . . in the 18th year.

8. Death of queen Asandhimitrâ. . . . . . . 12th year after the last event.

9. Aśoka's marriage with her attendant. . . . . . 4th year after the last event.

10. Destruction of the Bodhi-tree. . . . . 3rd year after the last event.

¶ *Mahâvaṁśa*, V. 17-20,—Turnour, pp. 21-22.

* *Mahâv.* V. 35,—Turnour, p. 23. In this passage and the preceding one the author says that *three* and *four* years respectively had elapsed when the second event took place; the latter fell, therefore, in the 4th and 5th years. Mr. Turnour translates *chatuhi vassehi* (V. 20) wrongly by 'in the fourth year.'

† *Mahâv.* V. 168-172,—Turnour, p. 34.

‡ *Mahâv.* V. 215,—Turnour, p. 37.

§ *Mahâv.* V. 286,—Turnour, p. 42.

11. Death of Aśoka. . . . . 4th year after the last event.

12. Total of Aśoka's reign . . . . 37 years.||

There are two points connected with these dates which require consideration, viz. if the years of Aśoka mentioned under Nos. 3-7 are to be counted from the death of Bindusâra or from Aśoka's *abhisheka*, and, secondly, how the dates under 8-11 can be reconciled with the statement No. 12, that Aśoka ruled 37 years.

As regards the first question, the common custom of the Hindus to reckon the years of their kings from the date of their *abhisheka*, and not from their actual accession to the throne, is a strong argument for taking all the years mentioned under Nos. 3-7, as well as the total under No. 12, to refer to the period after Aśoka's *abhisheka*. This argument is further strengthened by the consideration that if the 4th year, in which Aśoka's brother Tishya entered the *saṅgha*, and the 6th year, in which his (Aśoka's) son Mahendra and his daughter Sanghamitrâ were ordained, had to be counted from Bindusâra's death, both these events would fall *before Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism*. For his conversion cannot have taken place earlier than the 8th year after Bindusâra's death. Now Indian princes were, and are, no doubt, great latitudinarians in religious matters, and it would not be extra-

|| For the last dates see *Mahâv.* XX. 1-6,—Turnour, p. 122.

ordinary to find that the brother of a Brahmanical king had turned Buddhist with his sanction. But it seems extremely improbable that a Brahman should persuade, or even give permission to, a son and a daughter to become ascetics of another sect than his own. For this reason also I can come to no other conclusion but that the dates of Tishya's and of Mahendra's and Sanghamitrâ's ordinations fall in the 4th and 6th years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, *i.e.* in the 1st and 3rd years after his conversion. If that is conceded in the case of these two events, it follows that all the other dates have to be taken in the same manner. The second question—as to how the dates given under 8-11 are to be reconciled with the statement under 12, that Aśoka reigned 37 years—has attracted the attention of Professor Lassen, who is of opinion that the *Mahâvaṁśa* contradicts itself. He maintains that as the death of Asandhimitrâ fell in the 12th year after the 18th year of Aśoka's accession, the marriage of Aśoka in the 4th year after that event, the destruction of the Bodhi-tree in the 3rd year after the marriage, and the death of Aśoka in the 3rd year after the destruction of the Bodhi-tree, the total of Aśoka's years ought to be 41, instead of 37.¶ The *Mahâvaṁśa* certainly does express itself very loosely, but

¶ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I. p. 283, 2nd ed. He has overlooked the fact that the *Tîkâ* of the *Mahâvaṁśa*—Turnour, Introd. p. xlvii.—warns against this 'laughable mistake.'

still its statements may be reconciled with each other. For it does not assert that the last four events took place at intervals of 12, 4, 3, and 4 years, but at intervals of

11 years + x months or days.
3 years + x ,, ,,
2 years + x ,, ,,
3 years + x ,, ,,

Nor does it say that the Bodhi-tree was sent to Ceylon 18 years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, but in the 18th year, *i.e.* after 17 years and x months or days had elapsed. If we now assume that the number of the months or days in excess of the full years elapsed on the occurrence of each of the last five events does amount to more than one entire year and to less than two entire years, and if we concede that, as Turnour and others have already conjectured, the total of Aśoka's reign, 37 years, refers only to the number of *completed* years, and leaves out odd months and days, then the two statements will agree perfectly. In order to make my meaning plainer, I will, merely for argument's sake, put down definite figures for the unknown number of months or days, and the agreement of the two statements will appear at once :—

	Yrs.	m.
(7) The Bodhi-tree planted in Ceylon in the 18th year after *abhisheka*...	17	7
(8) Asandhimitrâ died in the 12th year after that	11	7

	Yrs.	m.
(9) Aśoka married her attendant in the 4th year after that	3	3
(10) The Bodhi-tree was destroyed in the 3rd year after that...............	2	4
(11) Aśoka died in the 4th year after that	3	1
The total of Aśoka's reign was then...	37	10

and that is just what the *Mahâvaṁśa* says, provided its total 37 is taken to refer to completed years only.

The figures assigned for the months are, as I have stated, entirely fictitious, and, as far as the statements of the *Mahâvaṁśa* are concerned, the surplus over 37 years may be just as well ten days as ten months. But it seems obvious to me that the above interpretation of the passage is more accurate, and more in accordance with the literal meaning of the text than that proposed by the *Ṭîkâ*, which declares it necessary to avoid counting the last year of each period twice.*

If we now turn to consider the adjustment of Buddha's years and of Aśoka's, we shall again find an element of uncertainty in the statement of the *Mahâvaṁśa*. But it will also appear that, under certain suppositions which the text by no means disallows, the statements

* Turnour, *Mahâv.*, Introd. p. xlvii.

of the *Mahâvaṁśa* and of those of the new inscriptions completely agree. The *Mahâvaṁśa* says, V. 21, that 218 years after the *Nirvâṇa had passed* when Aśoka's *abhisheka* took place. This obviously means, according to our manner of expressing ourselves, that the *abhisheka* was performed in 219 A.B. The text leaves it doubtful if the 218th year had only just closed, or if a number of months had elapsed since its completion. On this point, regarding which, I repeat it, no certainty can be gained from the *Mahâvaṁśa*, as well as on the other point, which according to the preceding discussion is equally uncertain, the amount of the excess over the total of 37 years, depends the determination of the year of the *Nirvâṇa* in which Aśoka died. If at the time of the *abhisheka* 218 years of the *Nirvâṇa* plus a few months, say two or three only, had elapsed, and if the excess of months over the total of 37 years of Aśoka's reign amounts likewise to a few months, say two or three only, then the death of Aśoka will fall in the year 256 of the *Nirvâṇa*. For 218 years and 2 months + 37 years and 2 months makes 255 years and 4 months. Under this supposition Aśoka died in the first half of the year 256 of the *Nirvâṇa*.

But if many months, say 10 or 11, of the 219th year of the *Nirvâṇa* had passed at the time of the *abhisheka*, and if many months, say ten or eleven, have to be added to the total of the years of Aśoka's reign, then his death falls in

the year 257 after the *Nirvāṇa*. For 218 years and 11 months + 37 *years and* 11 *months* makes 256 years and 10 months. It is also apparent that in order to bring about an agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa* this second interpretation has to be adopted. For only in case Aśoka died towards the end of 257 A.B. will it be possible to allow that he may have caused an inscription to be incised *when* 256 *years after the departure of the Teacher had passed.*

Now only one more point, the probable date of Aśoka's conversion, remains to be considered in order to complete the agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa*. The equation of the former is 33 years 6 months and x days =256 A.B. + x months or days. The *Mahâvaṁśa* says, V. 34, "The father (of Aśoka), being of the Brahmanical faith, used to feed (daily) sixty thousand Brahmans. He himself did so *for three years.*" Now this may mean either that the interval between Aśoka's *abhisheka* and his conversion was filled by three years exactly, or that some months and days have to be added. The equation in the new inscriptions makes it necessary to add at least eight months, because the middle of the thirty-fourth after the conversion could not fall under any other supposition in the 257th year after the *Nirvâṇa*. But if this addition is made the dates of the inscription and of the *Mahâvaṁśa* agree perfectly. For then we obtain—

A ś o k a 's *abhisheka* 218 years after the *Nirvâṇa* and say 11 months, *i.e.* at the end of 219 A.B.

Aśoka's conversion 3 years after the *abhisheka* and say 8 months, *i.e.* in the middle of 223 A.B.

Date of the inscriptions 33 years and 6 months and odd days after conversion, *i.e.* in the beginning of 257 A.B.

Death of A ś o k a 37 years and say 10 months after *abhisheka*, *i.e.* in the end of 257 A.B.

The agreement which has thus been shown to exist between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa* is, in spite of the uncertainty introduced by the neglect of the odd months in the latter work, sufficiently close to prove that the *Mahâvaṁśa's* statements regarding the history of India and of the beginnings of Buddhism are more than fanciful inventions of the monastic mind. They must be regarded as genuine historical dates, derived from contemporary evidence.

The necessary consequence of this discovery is that all attempts to adjust the Ceylonese chronology to that of the Greeks by means of a reduction or of a lengthening of the distance between the *Nirvâṇa* and Aśoka have to be given up. Henceforth it must be accepted as a fact that the *abhisheka* of Aśoka took place in 219 A.B., and that he was alive in the beginning of 257 A.B. If the identification of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta with the Sandrokyptos of the Greeks, and Aśoka's own

relations to Antiochus, the Antiyoka or Antiyoga of the rock inscriptions, prove that the Ceylonese date of the *Nirvâṇa* 543 B.C. has been placed 60 to 70 years too early, the fault must lie either in the period after Aśoka, or in the adjustment of the dates of the Indian history and of the Ceylonese kings. It is possible that either some kings have been erroneously inserted AFTER *Devânâṁpriya Tishya*, the contemporary of Aśoka, or that the reigns of Tishya, as well as of his predecessor and successors, have been intentionally expanded. The latter alternative seems to me most likely, because, as Mr. Turnour† and other Orientalists have shown, the dates of Pâṇḍukâbhaya, of Mutaśiva and of his four sons, are extremely suspicious. It seems impossible that these kings, who represent three generations, should have reigned 200 years. This suspicion becomes stronger through other circumstances, especially through the fact that Vijaya's landing is made to fall on the day of the *Nirvâṇa*. I am not prepared to risk any definite statement as to the manner in which the reigns of the Ceylonese kings ought to be reduced, or on the exact amount of the reduction, as I think it very likely that Dr. P. Goldschmidt's collection of Ceylonese inscriptions will completely clear up the question. For all practical purposes

† *Mahâv.* Introd. p. xli.

the date for the *Nirvâṇa*, 477-78 A.D., fixed by Professor M. Müller, by General Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside termini for the beginning of Chandragupta's reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 310 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 163 A.B., must now be considered to be genuine, the *Nirvâṇa* must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the *Nirvâṇa* should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other.

Certainty regarding the date of the *Nirvâṇa*, as already stated, will probably be obtained from the Ceylonese inscriptions. But there is a chance that the same goal may be reached by a different road. If a perfectly trustworthy account of the interval between Aśoka's death and the beginning of the Vikrama or of the Śaka eras could be obtained either from Indian inscriptions or from books, then the question would also be solved. I must add that an account of this kind exists, though I should be sorry to call it trustworthy on the evidence hitherto adduced. The Śvetâmbara Jainas place Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa* in 470‡ before the era of

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 362, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 147. Kern in his *Jaartelling*, p. 28, gives

Vikramâditya 56-7 B.C., and the beginning of the Mauryas in 216 after Mahâvîra, or in 311 B.C. This date agrees well enough with the statements of the Greeks, and I should be prepared to adopt it if the manner in which the Śvetâmbaras arrived at it agreed with the Buddhist chronology, and the age of the *gâthâ* in which it occurs were better authenticated. But the Jaina account of the dynasties in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. differs from those of the Bauddhas and of the Brahmans. The *gâthâ* says that Mahâvîra died on the night in which king Pâlaka of Ujjain was installed on the throne; that Pâlaka ruled 60 years; that, next, the Nandas held India for 155 years, and that the latter were succeeded by the Mauryas. Thus the Śiśunâgas are left out altogether—a point which makes the dates suspicious. Under these circumstances I give the Jaina account merely as a curiosity, and in order to warn against its being used, without further inquiry, as a means to find the exact date of Chandragupta's accession and of the *Nirvâṇa.*

466 before Vikrama as the date of Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*, on the authority of Professor Weber's extracts from the *Śatrunjayamâhâtmya*. That work is a wretched forgery by some *yati* of the 13th or 14th century, as the chapter on Kumârapâla of Anahilapâṭaka, 1144-74 A.D., and the numerous *Gujaraticisms* show. The Śvetâmbaras *mean* the era of Vikramâditya of 56-7 B.C. when they say 470 before Vikrama. The Digambaras place Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa* in 605 before Vikrama, and refer to the so-called Śaka era.

The additions to the history of the last years of Aśoka which the new inscriptions furnish are of great interest. We now hear for the first time that Aśoka's zeal for the Buddhist faith produced towards the end of his reign something very like bigotry. His boast that he caused the people of Jambudvîpa to abjure their ancient gods, which probably must be taken to mean only that he did his best to bring about such a result, stands in strange contrast to his earlier toleration.§ The change finds its explanation partly in the increasing age of the monarch, and the domestic difficulties which, both according to Buddhistic and Jaina accounts, he had with the queen whom he married after Asandhimitrâ's death, and partly by his turning ascetic. This fact is likewise new and of great interest, as Aśoka, in spite of his asceticism, apparently continued to govern the country. It indicates that the Buddhists allowed, just like the Jainas in exceptional cases, an intermediate stage between the *Śrâvakas* or lay brethren and the *Bhikshus* or monks. The Gujarât chroniclers assert that the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla, to whom they even give the title *saṁghâdhipati*, 'lord of the Saṁgha,' took at various periods of his reign vows of continence, of temperance, of abstention from animal food, and of *apratigraha*, *i.e.* to re-

§ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 275, 2nd ed.

nounce the confiscation of the heirless property of Vâṇiâs. I am not aware that other instances of royal Bauddha ascetics occur who continued to administer the affairs of their kingdoms.

There is yet another question for which the new inscriptions are of the utmost importance,—the history of the ancient Nâgarî numerals. Hitherto the oldest inscriptions showing them were the Mathurâ inscriptions of Kanishka, the Śâtavâhana inscriptions on the Nânâghâṭ, and the inscriptions of the Andhrabhṛityas. It is satisfactory to find now that these numeral signs are contemporaneous with the oldest known form of the Indian alphabet. But the form of the sign for 200 is still more important, as it furnishes the clearest proof for the correctness of Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî's discovery of the syllabic origin of the Nâgarî numerals. The sign for 200 employed in the Sahasrâm edict is , and, if the right-hand side-stroke denoting the second hundred is left out of consideration, closely resembles the sign for 100 in the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions and the fifth Gupta sign.|| But in the Rûpnâth edict the common sign for the syllable *su* appears in its stead, showing, however, an unusual elongation of the left-hand vertical stroke. It is obvious that the elongation of the vertical

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|| *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 45, col. 1 and col. 5.

stroke serves¶ here the same purpose as the side-stroke in the Sahasrâm figure, *i. e.* to denote that 200, not 100, must be read. But the fact that the common sign for the syllable *su* is employed, instead of the differentiated form used in the Sahasrâm edict, proves that the engraver knew it to be a syllable, and pronounced it as such.

I take this opportunity to give an attempt at an explanation of the very curious fact that in the syllabic notation of numerals 200 is expressed by the syllable *su or śu* plus one stroke, and 300 by *su or śu* plus two strokes, which latter are attached, according to the fancy of the writer, either at the right-hand side both high up and low down, or even placed at the top. This manner of notation is not easily explicable on the supposition that the side-strokes represent *ankas* or figures. For in that case we ought to find two side-strokes for 200, and three for 300. I propose, therefore, to take them as marks intended to show that in the case of 200 the syllable *su* had to be pronounced long, *sû*, and in the case of 300 *pluta*, *i.e. sû-u*. This explanation holds good for the Andhrabhṛitya and Vâkaṭaka signs for 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 also, which may be read *dhu*, *dhû*, and *dhû-u*, respectively. It is confirmed by the fact that

¶ In the case of 300 the Jainas also place the second stroke above the syllable, and write सुे.

in the case of 400 the sign for the syllable expressing 4, *ḳhka* or *ki* according to Bhagvânlâl, is attached to *su.* The Hindu grammarians allow syllables of three *mâtrâs* only, and it was therefore impossible to employ an additional-stroke in order to denote 400.

The sign in the two edicts for 50 also deserves attention. Rûpnâth shows the form used in the Kshatrapa and Valabhî inscriptions, while Sahasrâm gives that of the Eastern plates and of the MSS.

*Transcript and Restoration of the Sahasrâm Edict.**

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ â[hâ sâtilekâni aḍhit]iyâni savachhalâni, | aṁ upâsake sumi, | na cha bâḍhaṁ palakaṁte.—1—
Saviṁchhale sâdhike | , aṁ [sumi / haka] bâḍhaṁ palakaṁ]t[e].
Etena cha aṁtalena | jaṁbudîpasi aṁmisaṁ, devâ[hu]saṁ, ta—2—

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* Materials used: Plate XIV. of General Cunningham's *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. I. and a photograph supplied by General Cunningham.

L. 1. The facsimile and photograph show that seven or eight syllables have been lost. The restoration of the first six is absolutely certain on account of the identical readings of *R.* and *B.* [*aḍhit*]*iyâni* is less certain. I take it for a representative *of aḍhitisâni*, caused by the change of *s* to *h* and its subsequent loss, just as in Panjâbî *tîh*, thirty, and *ikattî*, thirty-one.

L. 2. Read *saṁvachhale*, R. Six or seven letters have been lost. *R.* and *B.* have two sentences, corresponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. *S.* can have had

munisâ | misaṁ deva kaṭâ. | Pala[kamasi hi] iyaṁ phale [n]o [cha i]yaṁ mahatatâ-vachakiye pâvatave. | Khudakena hi pala—3—
kamamînenâ vipule suag[e] [sa]kiye âlâ[dha yita]v[e]. | Se etâye aṭhâye iyaṁ sâvâne | : khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pa—4—
lakamaṁtu, aṁtâ pi chaṁ jânaṁtu | ; chilaṭhitîke cha palakame hotu |. Iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḍhisati |, vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati,—5—
diyâḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati | Iyaṁ cha savane vivuthena ; duve sapaṁnâlâti- —6—
satâ vivuthâ ti (ṣû ñ phra) 256. Ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhâpayâ thâya ; [yata] vâ a- —7—
thi hete silâthaṁbhâ tata pi likhâpaya thayi.—8—

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one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given above. Read *amisaṁ*, according to *R.* Read *devâ-husaṁ* as *R.* has *devâ-husu* and a verb is required. The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left-hand part of the ⊔. This emendation I owe to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji. Read *te* for *ta*, according to *R.*

L. 3. Read *devâ*. The *pala* before the lacuna is probable from the photograph. The restoration is certain on account of the corresponding passage in *R.*, which here, as everywhere, substitutes the root *pakam* for *palakam*. The second and third lacunas have been filled in according to *R.*

L. 4. Restorations according to *R.* and *B.*—Read *sâvane.*

L. 5. Read *cha jânaṁtu.*

L. 6. Read *sâvane ;* the facsimile has *dute*, but according to the photograph *duve*, which the sense requires, is at least probable, if not certain.

L. 7. Restoration suggested by the fact that two syllables have been lost, and a relative pronoun is desirable, though not absolutely necessary.

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (*It is*) [*more than thirty-two*] years [*and a half*] that I am a worshipper (*of Buddha*), and I have not exerted myself strenuously. (*It is*) a year and more [*that I have exerted myself strenuously*]. During this interval those gods that were (*held to be*) true gods in Jambudvîpa have been made (*to be regarded as*) men† and false. For through strenuous exertion comes this reward, and it ought not to be said to be an effect of (*my*) greatness. For even a small man who exerts himself can gain for himself great rewards in heaven. Just for this purpose a sermon has been preached : "Both small ones and great ones should exert themselves, and in the end they should also obtain (*true*) knowledge. And this spiritual good will increase; it will even increase exceedingly ; it will increase one (*size*) and a half, at least one (*size*) and a half." And this sermon (*is*) by the *Departed*. Two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have passed since ; and I have caused this matter to be incised on the hills ; or where those stone pillars are, there too I have caused it to be incised.

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† This phrase probably alludes to the Buddhist belief that the *devas* also have shorter or longer terms of existence, after which they die and are born again in other stages of existence according to their *karma*.

Transcript of the Rûpnâth Edict.‡

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ âhâ: sâtirakekâni aḍhitisâni va[sâ], ya sumi pâkâ sa[va]ki, no cha bâḍhi pakate. Sâtileke chu chhavachhare, ya sumi haka saṁgha-papite—1—
bâḍhi cha pakate. Yi imâya kâlâya jambudipasi amisâ devâ-husu te dâni masâ kaṭâ. Pakamasi hi esa phale, no cha esâ mahatatâpâ-potave. Khudakenâ hi ka—2—
pi parumaminenâ sakiye pipule pi svage ârodhave. Etiya aṭhâya cha sâvane kaṭe; khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pakamaṁtu ti, atâ pi cha jânaṁtu. Iyaṁ pakâre cha—3—
kiti? chiraṭhitike siyâ. Iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti, vipula cha vaḍhisiti, apaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati. Iya cha aṭhe pavatisu lekhâpeta vâlata hadha cha; aṭhi—4—
silâṭhubhe silâṭhaṁbhasi lâkhâpeta vayata. Etinâ cha vayajanenâ yâvatakatu paka ahâle,

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‡ Materials used: two rubbings forwarded by General Cunningham.

L. 1. Read *sâtilekâni*, the letter 𑀳 looks blurred and is a mistake for 𑀓. For *pâkâ* read *hakâ*. There is a faint mark between *sa* and *ki* which may be *va*,—*sâvaki* is required as synonym for *upâsake*; *saṁgha ushite* is a possible reading, as the letters appear to be half effaced. The reading given above is supported by *B*.

L. 2. Under the *vâ* of *devâ-husa* there is a vertical stroke, resembling an *u* 𑀉. Probably it is intended to indicate the absorption of the initial *a* of *ahusu*, and is the oldest form of the *Avagraha* S. Read *esa* for *esâ*. A letter may have stood between *khudakenâ hi* and *ka*. But I rather think the marks in the impression are accidental scratches.

L. 3. Read *pakamaminenâ*; *vipule*; *ârâdhave*; the long *â* in *pakâre* is not quite certain.

savara-vivase tavâyati. Vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe,
(sû n̆̊ phra) 256 sa—5—
ta-vivâsâ ta—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus: (*It is*) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (*of the law*), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (*of ascetics*), and that I have exerted myself strenuously. Those gods who during this time were considered to be true (*gods*) in Jambudvîpa, have now been abjured. For through exertion (*comes*) this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small (*man*) who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached: "Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain (*true*) knowledge, and this manner (*of acting*) should be, what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one (*size*) and a half." And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills; (*where*) a stone pillar is, (*there*) it has been

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L. 5. Read *lekhâpeta ṭhâyi ti*; *tapayati* ᒐ for δ; but possibly the reading on the stone may be *tapâyati*, as the lower part of *vâ* does not quite form a circle. Possibly *vyaṭhenâ*.

L. 6. Probably *ti* for *ta* to be read.

written on a stone pillar. And as often as (*man brings*) to this writing ripe thought, (*so often*) will he rejoice, (*learning to*) subdue his senses.§ *This* sermon has been preached by the *Departed.* 256 (*years have elapsed*) since the departure of the *Teacher.*

Transcript of the Bairât Edict.||

Devânaṁ piye âhâ sâti[lekâni] . . . .
i.e. sa . . . .—1—
vasâ-naṁ ya haka upâsake n[o] cha bâḍhaṁ.
. . . .—2—
aṁ mamayâ saṁghe papayite [bâ]ḍha[ṁ] cha.
. . . .—3—
jaṁbudipasi amisâ-naṁ deva-hi . . . vi . . . . .
[pala]kamasi esa[pha]le—4—
(n)o hi ese mahatane vachakaye . . . .

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§ The original has a double meaning. The other meaning is, "And as often as (*a man seasons his*) boiled rice with this condiment he will be satisfied, falling into a state of *saṁvara, i.e.* that state of intense satisfaction and repletion in which he closes his eyes from pleasure, and suspends the activity of the senses generally.

|| Materials used : Cunningham, *Corp. Inscr.* vol. I. plate XIV., and a cloth copy made by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî.

L. 1. Cloth copy; *devânâṁ.* The remnants of three letters towards the end of the line are also from the latter.

L. 2. *Corp. Inscr.* : *paka.* Cloth copy shows lower part of *n*(*o*). *Corp. Inscr.* : *bâdhi.* Cloth copy has remnants of these letters towards the end of the line.

L. 3. *Corp. Inscr.* : *payaye ate* and *bâḍhi.* In the cloth copy the top of *dha* is wanting.

L. 4. Cloth copy : *amisâ-na deve pi* and omits *vi.* I conjecture *amisâ-naṁ deva-ki[su te dâ]ni.* Portions of the letters *laka* appear on the cloth copy; *Corp. Inscr.* : *masi.*

. . . . . . [pala]rumamimenâ ya . . . .
pa—5—
vipule pi śvaṁge [sa]kye âlâdheta(v)e. . . .
. . . . [khuda]kâ cha uḍâlâ cha
palakamatu ti—6—
aṁte pi janaṁtu ti chilathiti[ke] . . . .
[vi]pulaṁ pi vaḍhisati—7—
diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati (ñ phra) 56 . . . .
. . . .—8— .

Index of Words occurring in the three Edicts.¶

A ṁ, S. 1, 2; B. 3 = Sansk. *yat:* compare Dhauli VI. 3, 5; sep. ed. I. 2, &c.

A ṭ h a ṁ, S. 7; *a ṭ h á y a*, S. 5, R. 4, *a ṭ h e;* S. 5, R. = Sansk. *artha*, Pali *aṭṭho:* compare Dhauli IV. 7, V. 7, &c. and pillar edicts.

A ṭ h i, R. 4 = Sansk. *asti:* compare Dhauli IX. 1, &c.

L. 5. *Corp. Inscr.* begins the line *ha hi*, the cloth copy shows *o* clearly. *Corp. Inscr.: mapâtane.* I think *mahatana* should be read, as the word forms a compound with *vachakaye*. Read [*pala*]*kamaminenâ* The cloth copy omits *ya* . . . . . . *pa*, which are not easily explained.

L. 6. Cloth copy: *vipule hiṁ śvage takye; Corp. Inscr.: vipule pi śvaṁge kiye.* The above reading is conjectural, but supported by the analogy of *S.* and *R.* Possibly *sakiye* may be the right form. Towards the end *Corp. Inscr.* reads [*khuda*]*kâ che*, which is incorrect.

L. 7. Cloth copy omits *aṁ(te)*, shows half a *ta* instead of *ti* in *chilathiti*(*ke*), and omits *pu* in (*vi*)*pulaṁ*.

L. 8. Cloth copy: *diyaḍhiya. vaḍhisati*, and omits the numeral signs. I must confess that I doubt the correctness of the latter, on account of their position.

¶ The references to the published edicts refer to Mr. Burgess's Girnâr facsimiles, and to the plates of General Cunningham's *Corp. Inscript. Ind.* vol. I., which he has kindly forwarded to me.

[*A ḍ h i t*] *i y á n i*, S. 1, a vicarious form for the following = **aḍhitiháni;* compare Panjâbî *tíh*, thirty, and *ikattí*, thirty-one, *bíh*, twenty, and *panjí*, twenty-five, &c.

A ḍ h i t i s á n i, S. 1 = Sansk. *ardhadvi-triṁsáni*, Gujarâti *aḍhitís:* compare also *aḍha-(kosikyáni)*, Delhi sep. ed. 2. Regarding Sansk. *ardha* = *sár-dha* see *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *ardha. Aḍhi* or closely allied forms occur in all the modern Prakrits.

A t á, R. 3 = *aṁtá* = Sansk. *amtát.*

A t h i, S. 7 = Sansk. *asti* with the meaning of the plural *santi:* compare Childers' *Pali Dict.* s.v. *atthi*, and Delhi sep. ed. 11, *ata athi siláthaṁbháni.*

A ṁ t a l e n a, S. 2. = Sansk. *antareṇa:* compare Dhauli, *e.g.* IV. 1, and pillar edicts.

A ṁ t á, S. 5 = Sansk. *antát.*

A ṁ t e, B. 7 = Sansk. *ante.*

A p a l a d h i y e n á, R. 4 = Sansk. *aparárdhyena.*

A m i s á, R. 2 = Sansk. *amishát.*

A m i s á-n a ṁ, B. 4 = *amishát* + *nanu.*

A ṁ m i s a ṁ, S. 3, mistake or vicarious form for *amisaṁ* = Sansk. *amisham:* compare, regarding nasalization, Kuhn, *Beiträge Pali Gram.* p. 33, and Dhauli II. 3. *Aṁni* = *áni* = *yáni*, &c.

A v a l a d h i y e n á, S. 6 = Sansk. *avarárdhyena.*

A h á l e, R. 5 = Pali *áháro:* see Childers' *Dict.* s. v. For the change in the quantity of the initial *á* compare Kuhn, *loc. cit.* pp. 29-30, Dhauli IX. 1, *abádhesu* = *ábádhesu*, &c.

A h u s a ṁ, *ahusu:* see *husaṁ*, *husu.*

Á r o d h a v e, R. 3, mistake for *árádhave* = Sansk. *áráddhavyaḥ:* compare Girnâr VI. 12. -*Tave*, *i.e.* *tavve* = Sansk. *tavyaḥ*, occurs] in the pillar edicts.

Âlâ(dhayita)v(e), âlâdhetave, S. 4, B. 6 : see the preceding, and compare Dhauli IX. 7, &c.

Âhâ, S. 1, K. 1, B. 1 = Sansk. *âha.*

Ima, S. 7 = *imaṁ* = Sansk. *imam.*

Imâya, R. 2 = Sansk. *asmai* : compare Girnâr III. 3.

Iya, R. 4 = *iyaṁ.*

Iyaṁ, S. 3, 5, 6; R. 3 = Sansk. *ayam* and *idam* : compare Khâlsî XII. 13, *iyam mule;* Delhi III. 17, *iyaṁ kayâne,* &c.

Uḍâlâ, S. 3, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *udârâḥ,* Pali *uḷârâ.*

Upâsake, S. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *upâsakaḥ,* Pali *upâsako.*

Etâye, S. 4 = Sansk. *etasmai;* compare Girnâr III. 3, &c.

Etinâ, R. 5 = Sansk. *etena.*

Etiya, R. 3 = *etâye.*

Etena, S. 2 = Sansk. *etena.*

Esa, R. 2, B. 4 = Sansk. *esha,* Pali *esa* : compare Dhauli sep. ed. I. 2, &c.

Esâ, R. 2, probably a mistake for *esa* or *ese.*

Ese, B. 5 = Sansk. *esha,* Pali *eso,* Mâgadhî *eśe.*

Kaṭâ, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *kṛitâḥ* : Pali *kaṭâ;* compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.

Kaṭe, R. 3, 5 = Sansk. *kṛitam* (neuter) : compare Dhauli V. 1, &c.

-Katu, in *yâvata-katu,* R. 5 = Sansk. *kṛitvaḥ* and Pali *khattuṁ.*

Kapi, R. 2, 3 = Sansk., Pali, *kiṁapi,*—possibly a mistake for *kipi.*

Kâlâya, R. 2 = *kâlâya* with sense of *kâle.*

Kiti, R. 4 = Śansk. *kimiti,* Pali *kiṁti;* rock edicts usually *kiṁti,* but Khâlsî N. face XIII. 12 *kiti.*

Khudaká, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *kshudrakáḥ*, Pali *khuddaká*.

Khudakena, S. 3, *-kená*, R. 2 = Sansk. *kshudrakeṇa*.

Cha, S. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7; R. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; B. 3, 6 = Sansk. and Pali *cha*.

Chaṁ, S., mistake for *cha*.

Chá, B. 6, mistake for *cha*.

Chiraṭhitike, R. 4 = Sansk. *chirasthitikaḥ*, Pali *chiraṭṭhitiko*.

Chilaṭhitíke, S. 5 ; see the preceding : compare Dhauli V. 8, VI. 6.

Chilathiti(ke), B. 7 ; see the preceding.

Chu, R. 1 = Sansk. *tu:* compare Dhauli VI. 7, sep. ed. I. 10.

Chhavachhare, R. 1 = Sansk. *saṁvatsaraḥ*, possibly a mistake for *sava°;* but compare *kâchhati* = **kassati* = Sansk. *karishyati*, in the pillar edicts.

Janaṁtu, B. 7; probably a mistake for *jánaṁtu*.

Jambudipasi, R. 2, B. 4 = Sansk. *jambudvípe*, Pali *jambudípe*.

Jaṁbudípasi, S. 2; see the preceding.

Jánaṁtu, S. 5, R. 4 = Sansk., Pali, *jánantu*.

-Ṭhiti, S. 5, R. 4 (in *chila-ṭhitike*) = Sansk. *sthiti*, Pali *ṭhiti*.

Ta, S. 2, mistake or vicarious form for *te*, which see.

Ta, R. 6, for *ti* = Sansk. *iti*.

Tata, S. 8 = Sansk. *tatra*, Pali *tattha:* compare Delhi sep. ed. 3, &c.

Taváyati, R. 5; probably a mistake for *tapayati* = Sansk. *tarpayati*, Pali *tappeti*.

T i, S. 7, R. 3, B. 6, 7 = Sansk. *iti*, Pali *ti*.

T e, R. 2 = Sansk., Pali, *te* (nom. pl. m. of *tad*).

T h a y i, S. 8, probably for *athâyiṁ* = Sansk. *asthâm* (1st per. sing. aor. act. of *sthâ*).

T h â y a, S. 8, a variant of the preceding.

D â n i, R. 2 = Sansk. *idânîm*, Pali *dâni*.

D i y a ḍ h i y a ṁ, S. 6, R. 4, B. 8 = Sansk. *dvyardham*, Pali *diyaḍḍhaṁ*: compare *diyâḍha*, Khâlsî XIII. 35.

D i y â ḍ h i y a ṁ, S. 6; a vicarious form for the preceding.

D u v e = Sansk. *dve*, Pali *duve*.

D e v a, S. 3, B. 4, probably mistake for *devâ*.

D e v â, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *devâḥ*.

D e v â n a ṁ, B. 1 = Sansk. *devânâm*, Pali *devânaṁ*.

D e v â n â ṁ, S. 1, R. 1, a mistake or variant for the preceding.

N a, S. 1 = Sansk., Pali, *na*.

N a ṁ, B. 2 (in *vasâ-naṁ*), B. 4 (in *amisâ-naṁ*) = Sansk. *nanu*, Śaur., Mâg., *ṇaṁ*, Hemach. IV. 283, 302, ed. Pischel.

N o, S. 1, 3, R. 1. 2, B. 2, 5 = Sansk., Pali, *no*: compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.

P a k a, R. 5 = Sansk. *pakvaḥ*, Pali *pakko*.

P a k a t e, R. 1, 2 = Sansk. *prakrântaḥ*, Pali *pakkanto*, but with the meaning of *parâkrânta*.

P a k a m a ṁ t u, R. 3 = Sansk. *prakrâmantu*, Pali *pakkamantu*.

P a k a m a s i, R. 2 = Sansk. *prakrame*.

P a k â r e, R. 3 = Sansk. *prakâraḥ*, Pali *pakâro*, but possibly a mistake for *pakame*.

P a p a y e or *papayite*, B. 3 = Sansk. *prâpitaḥ*.

-P a p i t e, R. 1 (in *saṁgha-pa*) = Sansk. *prâptaḥ*.

P a r u m a m i n e n á, R. 3, mistake for *pakamaminená* = Sansk. *prakramamánena.*

P a l a k a ṁ t e, S. 1, 2 = Sansk. *parákrántaḥ*, Pali *parakkanto.*

P a l a k a m a t u, B. 6, a variant of the following.

P a l a k a m a ṁ t u, S. 5=Sansk. *parákrámantu*, Pali *parakkámantu:* compare also Dhauli VI. 6, &c.

P a l a k a m a m î n e n á, S. 3, 4 = Sansk. *parákramamáṇena:* for the termination *-mîna* compare *sampaṭapádayamîne*, Dhauli sep. ed. I. 15.

P a l a k a m a s i, S. 3, B. 4 = Sansk. *parákrame.*

P a l a k a m e, S. 5 = Sansk. *parákramaḥ:* compare Dhauli VI. 7.

P a l a r u m a m i n e n á, B. 4, 5, a mistake for *palakamaminená.*

P a v a t i s u, R. 4, a *varia lectio* for the following.

P a v a t e s u, S. 7=Sansk. *parvateshu*, Pali *pabbatesu.*

P á k á, R. 1, a mistake for *haká.*

P á p o t a v e, R. 2 (in *mahatatápá°*) = Sansk. *práptavyam*, but formed from a new root, *pápo:* compare Pali *pappoti*, and *pápová*, Delhi VI. 3.

P á v a t a v e, S. 3=Sansk. *pravaktavyam:* for the lengthening of the first syllable compare Pali *pávachanam.*

P i, S. 5, 8, R. 3, B. 6=Sansk. *api*, Pali *pi.*

P i p u l e, R. 3, a mistake for *vipule.*

P i y e, S. 1, R. 1, B. 1=Sansk. *priyaḥ*, Pali *piyo.*

P h a l e, S. 3, R. 2, B. 4 =Sansk. *phalam*, or possibly=*phalaḥ*, a rare form for *phalaṁ: vide* the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *Phaláni* occurs Khâlsî II. 6.

B á ḍ h a ṁ, S. 1, B. 2, 3 =Sansk. *báḍham:* compare rock edicts VII., end.

B á ḍ h i, R. 1, 2, B. 2, 3 (?), a vicarious form for the preceding. For *am* = *e* = *i*, compare also Delhi V. 8, *sûkali*.

M a m a y á, B. 3 = Sansk. *mayá*: compare Dhauli VI. 1, Delhi sep. ed. 3.

M a s á, R. 2 = *misá* = Sansk. *mishát*.

M a h a t a t á, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *mahattá*, Pali *mahantatá*.

M a h a t a n e, B. 5 = Sansk. *mahattvam*, Prâk. *mahattaṇaṁ*: compare Var. IV. 22.

M i s a m, S. 3 = Sansk. *misham*. For the meaning of *mishaṁ kṛi* see *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *misha*.

M u n i s á, S. 3 = Sansk. *manushyáḥ*: compare Dhauli II. 3, &c.

Y a, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *yat*, Pali *yaṁ*.

Y á v a t a k a t u, R. 5 = Sansk. *yávatkṛitvaḥ*.

Y i, R. 2 = Sansk., Pali, *ye* (nom. pl. m. of *yad*).

L á k h á p e t a, R. 5, a mistake for *lekhápeta*.

L i k h á p a y a, *-yá*, S. 7, 8 = Sansk. *lekhitvá*; *-aya* = *ya*; compare Pali *likhápeti*, and for the construction of *ṭhá* with the absolutive, Childers' *Dict.* s. v. *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭháti*.

L e k h á p e t a, R. 4 = Sansk. *lekhitaḥ*: compare Dhauli II. 3, *lopabeta* and *lopapita* = Sansk. *ropitáni*.

V a ḍ h i, R. 4 = *vṛiddhim* (acc. sing.), Pali *vaḍḍhiṁ*.

V a c h a k a y e, B. 5, *-kiye*, S. 3 (in *mahatatáva*°) = Sansk. *váchaka* enlarged by the affix *íya* (?).

V a ḍ h i s a t i, S. 5, 6, R. 4, B. 7, 8 = Pali *vaḍḍhissati*: compare pillar edicts, *e.g*. Delhi I. 6, &c.

V a ḍ h i s i t i, R. 4, a vicarious form for the preceding.

V a y a j a n e n á, R. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *vyanja-*

nena: see Childers' *Dict.* s. v. See also rock edicts III., end. As to *i* represented by *a*, see Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 24, and compare Khâlsî XIII. 38, *vayásanaṃ* = *vyasanaṃ*.

V a y a t a, R. 5,—probably a mistake for *tháyi ta* = *astháyi* (*sthitaḥ*) *iti*.

V a (*s á*), R. 1. = Sansk. *varsháṇi*.

V a s á-n a ṁ, B. 2 = Sansk. *varsháṇi nanu*: compare above, *naṁ*.

V á, S. 7 = Sansk., Pali, *vá*.

V á l a t a, R. 4, possibly a mistake for *pálata*, but = Sansk. *paratra*: compare pillar edict *pálataṁ* = *páratrikam*.

V i p u l a, R. 4 = Sansk., Pali, *vipulam*.

Vi p u l a ṁ, S. 5, B. 8 = Sansk. *vipulam*.

V i p u l e, S. 4, B. 6 = Sansk. *vipulaḥ*: compare also *pipule*, and rock edicts VII.

V i v a s e, R. 5 (in *savaravi*°) = Pali *vivaso*, Sansk. *vivaśah*.

V i v á s á, R. 6 (in *satavi*°) = Sansk. *vivását*.

V i v u t h á, S. 7 = Sansk. *vivṛittáni*, Pali part. of *vaṭṭati*, is sometimes *vutto*: compare also Khandagiri inscr. l. 5, *Jour. Beng. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. p. 1050, *tatho vase viruthe*.

V i v u t h e n a, S. 7 = Sansk. *vivṛittena*.

V y u ṭ h e n á, R. 5, a vicarious form for the preceding, caused by the substitution of *u* for *vu*.

Ś v a ṁ g e, *śvage*, B. 6 = Sansk. *svargaḥ*. Similar substitutions of *ś* for *s* occur particularly often in the latter half of the Khâlsî edicts, *e.g.* XI. 129 *śo* for *so*, XI. 30 *mitaśaṁthutána* = *mitrasaṁstutánáṁ*, XII. 34, *śiyá* = *siyá* = *syát*, &c.

S a v a c h h a l á n i, S. 1 = Sansk. *saṁvatsaráḥ*: compare also *chhavachhare* and *saviṁchhale*.

S a k i y e, *-kye*, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *svakîyaḥ*, Pali *sakiyo*.

S a ṁ g h a, R. 1, *-ghe*, B. 3 = Sansk. *saṁghaḥ*, Pali, *saṁgho*.

S a t a v i v â s â, R. 5, 6 = Sansk. *śâstṛivivâsât*, Pali *satthuvivâsâ*.

-Satâ, S. 7 = Sansk. *śatâni*.

S a p a ṁ n â l â t i s a t â, S. 7 = Sansk. *shaṭpanchâśadatiśatâni*. For *sa* = *shaṭ*: compare *saḍu-(vîsati)* in the pillar edicts. For the use of *ati* = *adhi* compare *atiratha*, *râjâtirâja*, &c.

The *la* of *paṁnâla* is inexplicable, and one feels tempted to read *paṁnâha* instead, ᒐ for ᒧ.

S a(v a)k i, R. 1 = Sansk. *śrâvakaḥ*, Pali *sâvako*.

S a v a r a-, R. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *saṁvara*.

S a v a n e, S. 6, a mistake for *sâvane*.

S a v i ṁ c h h a l e, a mistake for *saṁvachhale*.

S â t i r a k e k â n i, R. 1, a mistake for *sâtilekâni*.

S a t i l e k e, R. 1 = Sansk. *sâtirekaḥ*, Pali *sâtireko*.

S â d h i k e, S. 2 = Sansk. *sâdhikaḥ*.

S â v a n e, R. 3, 5 = Sansk. *śrâvaṇam*, Pali *sâvanaṁ*: compare Delhi VII. 20.

S â v â n e, S. 4, a mistake for the preceding.

S i y â, R. 4 = Sansk. *syât*: compare Gir. III. 3, &c.

S i l â ṭ h a ṁ b h a s i, R. 5 = Sansk. *śilâstambhe*.

S i l â ṭ h u b h e, R. 5 = Sansk. *śilâsthambhaḥ*.

S i l â t h a ṁ b h â, S. 8 = Sansk. *śilâstambhâḥ*: compare *silâthaṁbhâni*, Delhi sep. ed. 11.

S u a g(e), S. 4 = Sansk. *svargaḥ*.

S u m i, S. 1, R. 1. = Sansk. *asmi* (1st per. sing. pres. of *as*): for the insertion of *u* compare Kuhn, *Beit. Pali Gram*. p. 45.

Se, S. 4 = Pali *se:* compare Dhauli IV. 1, VI. 1, Delhi II. 16, R. 2, &c.

Svage, R. 3 = Sansk. *svargaḥ.*

Haka, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *aham*, Mâgadhî, *hage:* compare also *pâkâ*, and Dhauli VI. 5 and *passim.*

Hadha, R. 4 = Sansk. *iha*, Pali *hidha:* compare pillar edicts, *e.g.* Delhi I. 3, *hida-ta.*

Hi, S. 3, R. 2, B. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *hi.*

-Husu, (*hu*)*saṁ*, R. 2, S. 2 = *abhûvan:* compare *a-huṁsu*, and *husa*, Delhi VII. 12.

Hete, S. 8 = Sansk., Pali, *ete* (nom. m. of *etad*).

Hevaṁ, S. 1, R. 1, B. 1 = Sansk., Pali, *evam:* compare Dhauli VI. 4 and *passim.*

Hotu, S. 5 = Sansk. *bhavatu:* compare Dhauli V. 8, &c.





